Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 28383 01 OF 02 281833Z

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 281701Z SEP 76 ZFF 4
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5435

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 28383

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FROM REINHARDT

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH WA XA SF IV
SUBJECT: REINHARDT MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET

SUMMARY: IN TWO-HOUR MEETING MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 28, HOUPHOUET LISTENED ATTENTIVELY TO MY DISCUSSION OF RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS, WHICH I BASED ON TALKING POINTS AND UPDATED IN LIGHT OF STATE 239884, 240009, 239447, 239436, AND 239445. IN LONG, RAMBLING RESPONSE HOUPHOUET: EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CONFIDENCE SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS PLACED IN ME" BY PREVIOUS SERIES OF COMMUNICATIONS AND BY THE BRIEFING HE RECEIVED TODAY; AND DECLARED HE CONVINCED MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, INDEPENDENCE CLOSER IN BOTH TERRITORIES THAN ANYONE WOULD HAVE DREAMED SHORT TIME AGO, AND SECRETARY MUST PERSIST DESPITE ANY DIFFICULTIES THAT MAY ARISE. UPON HIS UNSPECIFIED RETURN TO ABIDJAN, HOUPHOUET WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH AFRICAN MODERATES "AND OTHERS" URGING THAT RAPID MOVEMENT BE MADE IN SUPPORTING SECRETARY'S INITIATIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER PRESENTATION OF SECRETARY'S LETTER, WHICH HOUPHOUET INSISTED BE TRANSLATED IMMEDIATELY, I PROCEEDED TO OUTLINE GENERAL TERMS OF AGREEMENTS CONCERNING RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. I ESPECIALLY STRESSED STATE 239436 IN EFFORT LEND PERSPECTIVE TO SEPTEMBER 26 LUSAKA
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PAGE 02 PARIS 28383 01 OF 02 281833Z

CONFERENCE AND MEDIA REPORTING ON THIS MEETING. HOU-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

PHOUET LISTENED ATTENTIVELY, RAISED NO QUESTION CONCERNING DETAILS, GAVE HIS BLANKET ENDORSEMENT, AND PROCEEDED TO MAKE A LONG STATEMENT IN FORM OF ELABORATE UNINTERRUPTED SOLILOQUY ON AFRICA IN LIGHT OF THE SECRETARY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

2. EVER SO GENTLY HE SUGGESTED THAT WEST NOW PAYING PRICE FOR PAST INDIFFERENCE, FOR NOT HAVING HEEDED HIS URGINGS WHILE THE PORTUGUESE WERE STILL IN AFRICA, THE PRICE BEING RUSSIAN PENETRATIONS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, WHICH HE REGARDS AS REAL AND SERIOUS BUT TEMPORARY BECAUSE SOVIETS NOT INTERESTED IN GENUINE INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. RUSSIANS HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN EVEN NETO AHD NGOUABI BUT WILL USE THEM TO ACHIEVE RUSSIAN OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING UNDERMINING SECRETARY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PAST TWO WEEKS.

3. SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT "WE" HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED DIALOGUE CONCERNING ALL OF THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHICH HAS BEEN WIDELY MISUNDERSTOOD BY OTHER AFRICANS, BUT HE HAS NEVER LET UP. HIS FAVORABLE REACTION TO "DR. KISSINGER'S PILGRIMAGE OF PEACE" HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BECAUSE OF HIS CONCEPT OF DIALOGUE. EVEN APARTHEID, WHICH ALL MEN ABHOR, CAN ONLY BE LESSENED AND GRADUALLY ELIMINATED BY DIALOGUE.

4. AS FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH CURIOUSLY SEEMED TO INTEREST HIM SLIGHTLY MORE THAN RHODESIA, HE IS CONVINCED THAT TERRITORY IS MOVING TOWARD INDEPENDENCE, MOVEMENT THAT VORSTER COULD NOT HAVE IMAGINED A FEW MONTHS AGO. EVEN WALDHEIM HAD DECLARED THAT NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE WOULD TAKE TEN YEARS. THE SECRETARY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE "MOST ENCOURAGING." BUT THE SECRETARY MUST PERSIST, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE SOME AFRICANS WILL LIKEN NAMIBIA TO A SICK MAN WHO MUST RISE AND WALK TOMORROW. HOUPHOUET BELIEVES THAT THE SICK MAN CAN ONLY GRADUALLY REGAIN HIS STRENGTH. THE PROCESS OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE MUST NOT BE IMPEDED BY PROCEDURAL WRANGLINGS. THE SECRETARY SHOULD EXPECT THESE AND NOT YIELD.

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5. REGARDING RHODESIA, HE STRESSES THAT THE BRITISH MUST NOW ASSUME PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR "THIS COLONIAL PROBLEM," THOUGH AT THE LIVINGSTONE BRIDGE MEETING THE UK DID NOT ACCOMPLISH EVEN A QUARTER OF WHAT THE SECRETARY HAS NOW ACHIEVED. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIETS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

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PAGE 01 PARIS 28383 02 OF 02 281802Z

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 28383

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WILL SEEK TO DESTROY RECEHT GAIHS AND THAT SOME OF "OUR BROTHERS," INCLUDING PERHAPS EVEN ZAMBIA, WILL BE LESS THAN HELPFUL. (LATER HE SOFTENED HIS INCLUDING OF ZAMBIA IN THIS CATEGORY BY INDICATING HIS INTENTION TO GET IN TOUCH WITH KAUNDA, WHOM HE THEN CALLED ONE OF THE MODERATES.)

6. ANY ARGUMENT OVER THE SITE OF THE BRITISH-CALLED CONFERENCE, WHICH HE THINKS HAS ALREADY BEGUN, IS FOOLISH. HE AGREES THAT NEITHER RHODESIAN TERRITORY NOR LONDON SHOULD BE SITE, BUT "THE WORLD IS LARGE" AFTER EXCLUDING THESE TWO PLACES.

7. HOUPHOUET FEARS THAT NETO EXERTED UNDUE INFLUENCE IN LUSAKA SEPTEMBER 26 AND WILL ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE. AFTER A RECENT TRIP TO BRAZZAVILLE (NOT CLEAR WHEN OR IN WHAT CIRCUMSTANCE), NETO IS MORE THE "VOICE OF RUSSIA" THAN EVER BEFORE. THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THE SOVIETS AS THEY WORK THROUGH NETO IS THAT THEY ARE "MORE INTERESTED IN THE MPLA THAN IN ANGOLA." OTHER AFRICANS MUST ALSO COME TO MAKE THIS DISTINCTION. BASICALLY, HOUPHOUET CONSIDERS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORTED BY THE WEST, AS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE BRAKE TO SOVIET DESIGNS IN AFRICA. HE THUS EXPECTS MUCH TO COME OUT OF THE UPCOMING WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE TO BE HELD SOON IN LAGOS, SINCE MOST AFRICAN LEADERS NOW UNDERSTAND THE URGENT NECESSITY FOR COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT.

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

8. FINALLY, HOUPHOUET ASKED THAT I CONVEY HIS SUPPORT, CONGRATULATIONS, AND "EVEN ADMIRATION" TO THE SECRETARY, WHO MUST PERSIST. WHEN HE RETURNS TO ABIDJAN, HOUPHOUET WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH OTHER MODERATE LEADERS IN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM GAINED LAST WEEK.
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Margaret P. Grafeld
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EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

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